

THE STATE SENTINEL

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The State Sentinel will contain a much larger amount of reading matter, on all subjects of general interest, than any other newspaper in Indiana.

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OREGON.

Speech of Mr. Wentworth of Illinois, in the U. S. House of Representatives, Jan. 27, 1845.

MR. WENTWORTH said it was not his original intention to have said anything in relation to the merits of the bill before the House, for the re-occupation of Oregon, at this stage of the question. [A laugh.] Mr. W. said gentlemen laughed at his word re-occupation, which he used designedly, and he wanted gentlemen to understand its true meaning. If we ever did occupy Oregon (as all gentlemen grant) it is certain we do not occupy it now. And hence he wanted to re-occupy it, to drive the British out, and rightfully place Americans in it. He was for tearing down the cross of St. George, and raising the stars and stripes in its stead.

Mr. W. said the question before the House, he knew, was a measure preliminary to action upon this great measure of re-occupation. He knew the bill before the House was introduced in good faith by his colleague, [Mr. Douglas], believing it would be disposed of in a few moments, and without serious opposition. But long speeches, comprehending a variety of subjects, had already been made; and for fear, as in former times, the House would never be nearer the subject than it now was, he would submit a few remarks in relation to the bill itself. For twenty years, and upwards, his country has been engaged in a government in Oregon had been agitated; but yet there had never been any favorable action. Indeed there had never been a direct vote taken, whereby the nation could get at the sense of its representatives. The measure had always gone by on false issues, or been preceded by others of less importance in the end, though, perhaps, considered at the time of more immediate importance.

The Oregon question, somehow, had always been an unlucky one. There was always something ahead of it. Hence what he had to say should say must be, lest legislative legendism should hinder the proper bill from being called up, as was the case at the last session.

On Saturday, we annexed a large tract, so far as the action of this House was concerned, to one extremity of our Union. Here is now a question to be added to the other end, or rather to keep from being irretrievably lost, what rightfully belonged to it. Members denied that the annexation of Texas was a sectional question, and contended that it was a national one, and as such a measure they supported it. If the friends of Texas now go for Oregon, they will show conclusively that they are for reclaiming their own territory at whatever extremity of our Union it may be, and thus prove conclusively that they care no more for slave territories than they do for free ones. The opponents of Texas took ground that its annexation would add to the slave power of this country and thereby disturb its present equilibrium. Even the venerable gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Adams] would be for annexation under certain conditions, were it not for slavery. Now Oregon is north of the Missouri compromise line, and slavery can never exist there. So, as he looked at it, Texas and Anti-Texas men would best preserve their character for patriotism and consistency by advocating all measures for re-possessing Oregon.

Mr. W. called upon whigs and democrats, upon this great national question, involving our interests and our honor, to forget all party feuds, and give a consolidated vote against any further encroachments of the British upon American soil.

In a report made to this House upon the subject now under discussion, by Mr. Baylies of Massachusetts, in 1826, there can be found the following sentence:

"The indifference of America stimulates the cupidity of Great Britain. Our neglect doubly weakens our own claim, and strengthens her title. The day will soon arrive, when her title to this territory will be better than ours, unless our interests are speedily ascertained."

This might then have seemed empty declamation, but who will say that time has not verified it all! Great Britain never had a settlement on the Columbia nor any of its branches prior to 1810, the time Mr. Astor's settlement was commenced. And Mr. Madison looked upon the settlement with such a favorable eye, that in 1810 he ordered the frigate Adams thither; but the order was countermanded in consequence of the crew being needed on Lake Ontario. This same year the fort fell into the hands of the British, where it remained until it was surrendered to us under the first article of the treaty of Ghent. Thus in 1819 were we put in full possession. And these were the words:

"We, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the government of the United States the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia."

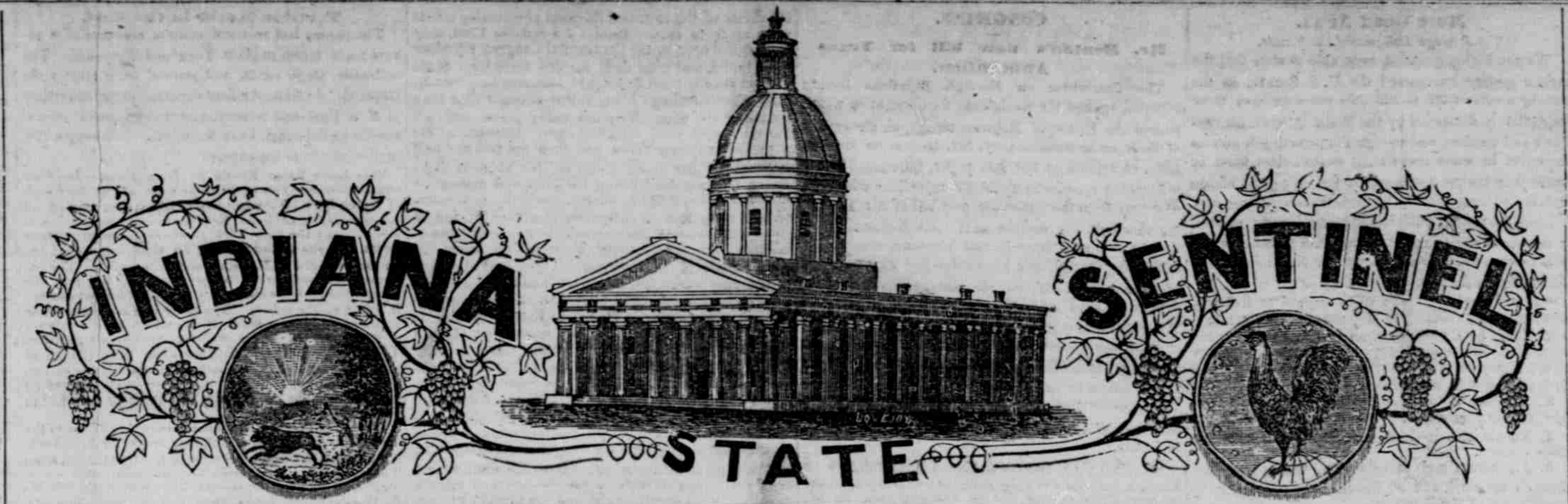
Thus put in possession, how have we lost it! Certainly not by the treaty of 1818 for joint occupancy, for that treaty expressly declares that "the only object of the high contracting parties was to prevent disputes and differences among themselves." And, whilst treating of the title, Lord Caslereagh admitted our right to the party in possession. And this bill proposes nothing more than to restore to the United States that possession have had since 1818; nothing more than Great Britain, the party out of possession, has done for her citizens in Oregon long ago.

Since 1818, much has been said in relation to our duty to the American citizens in Oregon, but nothing has been done. Able reports have been made to this House, to two of which he would call the attention of members at their leisure—that of Mr. Baylies, just alluded to, and that of Mr. Cushing, our recent minister to China. Able speeches have also been made, but there the matter has stopped.

As early as 1823, Mr. Floyd, of Virginia, as chairman of a committee of this House, made an elaborate report on the propriety of extending the jurisdiction of this country over the inhabitants of Oregon, which concluded with a bill for that purpose. That bill, like all its successors, was suffered to lie on the table during the session. Next year the Navy commissioners made an estimate of the expense of transporting cannon and ammunition to the Columbia, and this was all that was heard of the matter during that or the succeeding session.

In 1823, a select committee was appointed by the House, with instructions to inquire into the expediency of occupying the mouth of the Columbia. This committee conferred with General Jesup, who recommended establishing a fort at the mouth of the Columbia, and establishing a cord of fire from the mouth of the Columbia. He gives, as a reason therefor, that "present protection would be afforded to our traders, and, on the expiration of the privilege granted to British subjects to trade on the waters of the Columbia, we should be enabled to REMOVE THEM from our territory, and to secure the whole trade to our citizens." This suggestion was made in 1824; and it is valuable as showing it was the received opinion, at that time, that the British only remained by our permission, and that, at the end of the treaty for joint occupancy, we could "REMOVE THEM from our territory." But nothing was done at this session.

In 1824, President Monroe, in his last annual message, urged the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia. But no heed was given to him.



BY G. A. & J. P. CHAPMAN.

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President Adams renewed this request; and it was in accordance therewith that Mr. Baylies, in 1826, made the report from which he had already quoted. But, as usual, nothing was done at this Congress.

Mr. W. said he had thus reviewed all proceedings, from the time we were put in possession up to the year 1827, when the article of joint occupancy was indefinitely continued in force, with power on the part of either country to annul or abrogate it by giving twelve months notice.

From that time to the present, the proceedings of Congress have been pretty much the same as they were for the ten years previous. Presidents have recommended, and committees have favorably reported; and there the matter has ended. We have had talk enough about this matter, and we now want action.

He would not speak of our title to the country because he believed no American doubted it. He heard nearly all the debates in both branches of Congress at the last session, and he heard not a single person, whig or democrat, express a doubt as to our title to every inch of the territory up to the boundary established between us and Russia by the treaty of 1824. That we were once in possession is equally as clear, he thought he had shown, as our title. And it is almost as clear that we are now dispossessed. Indeed, one of the issues in the late canvass was the re-occupation of re-occupation of Oregon. That we became dispossessed is altogether attributable to our indifference. Whilst we have been doing nothing, England has done every thing. Whilst the American settlers have had to move along at the rate of twenty miles a day, without roads and through the domain of the most savage Indians, England, through her ships, has been landing her emigrants at the mouth of the Columbia, surrounded by all the conveniences of life.

Once dispossessed, the question arises, how can we again get possession? Of course, he meant without war. Forcible possession can, he would say must be, resorted to when all other means fail. It is a just measure—just to the American settlers in Oregon, just to our own interests and our own honor.

There may be those who would ask that, before the passage of such a bill, the year's notice of our wish to annul and abrogate the treaty of joint occupancy ought to be given. But if, under the provisions of this article, Great Britain can extend the jurisdiction of her laws over her citizens, can even arrest and punish our citizens under that jurisdiction, can we not, under the same provisions, extend to our citizens our own protection—treat them as American people treading American soil? If we have this right, then this collision does ensue, it will only show the more urgent necessity of abrogating that article, which has been so often and so fruitlessly attempted.

But the abrogation has always been hindered by some negotiation. And when, sir, will there not be, judging the future by the past, some negotiation pending on this matter? Never, so long as things remain in their present condition—whilst England has everything and we nothing—so long as British laws and British troops rule the country. He looked at this negotiation as all tantamount to something that never is, but always is to be; mere British legendism to swindle us out of the country. He was for the abrogation of that article now, and should be ready to vote for it at any time, whether before or after the passage of this bill. The sooner we do it the better for our interest and our honor.

But it is argued that England would consider a notice of this abrogation—a would consider a compliance with the provisions of one of our treaties—equivalent to a declaration of war. If she would consider it so now, when there was no negotiation pending or in contemplation? When is this to be? He predicted never, until we boldly asserted our rights and gave the notice. Others say war will certainly grow out of it, and we are in no preparation for it. But are we not as well prepared as Great Britain, who has every thing to lose and nothing to gain? War with us would be a signal for the loss of Canada. The star-spangled banner would wave in triumph over Abraham's heights, and shouts of victory ring over the graves of Wolf and Montgomery. There would be no stopping to organize armies on this side; 'at' the first signal of war, our indignant citizens would pour upon Canada from Maine to Michigan, and over-run the country like a tornado. The Canadians themselves, half ripe for a revolt, would welcome us the moment they would feel safe in so doing. And Great Britain knows this. No, no; much as this nation of hypocrites wants Oregon, she would not go to war with us for it. She knows us too well. She knows the soreness of feeling along our whole frontier, engendered during the late Canadian troubles, the burning of the Caroline, the murder of Burke, and the capture of Greig. From some nations she would take it at all hazards. In the ostentation of her luxury, she would find some excuse for taking it from a weak nation. Under pretence of christianizing the world, she is robbing every feeble nation of its territory.

Whilst pretending to convert the Chinese, she makes a market for her opium; whilst professing to desire the abolition of slavery, she still seals our southern slaves to use in Canada to bind still tighter the manacles of her white subjects. Under the guise of philanthropy she strives to enslave the world. This nation will endeavor to rob us of Oregon, but not by war. Diplomacy is her game. She who had the impudence to demand the joint navigation of the Mississippi with us—that we should recognize the Indians as independent powers—and that we acknowledge her right to search our vessels—will not hesitate to demand any thing, however unjust, whenever her avarice or ambition prompts her. She claims the whole of Oregon; but only demands all north of the Columbia, providing she can have the joint navigation of that river with us. If she ought to have any, she ought to have the whole. Her title to the whole territory is as good as it is to one single inch between 42 degrees and 54 degrees 40 minutes. She is willing, however, as a matter of compromise, to give us a small territory in the angle of Tugue's strait and the Pacific coast. Indeed, when worst comes to worst, I think she will compromise every thing for a joint possession of the Columbia river and the straits of Juan de Fuca. She is determined to monopolize the commerce of the world, and to dictate terms to every nation, knows how to value St. Helena, Malta, and Gibraltar, also knows the value of the only river of commercial importance emptying into the Pacific north of Cape Horn. Great Britain got the India by setting out with two small trading posts alone. Give her these two points, and the cross of St. George would float in triumph over island in the Pacific. It is not so much a few acres of land that Great Britain wants, as it is a monopoly of the fur of the north-west, the pearl and gold of Panama and Choco, minerals of Peru, hides of California, the whale fisheries, and, in fine, the whole trade of China, the Pacific islands, and the western shore of Mexico and Central America. Our present joint jurisdiction is satisfactory enough to Great Britain, because, in our indifference,

nothing of the time lost in waiting at Independence, Missouri, until a sufficient number has collected to make up a safe caravan, to undertake so hazardous a task, and overawe the Indians. Only think of it: men, women, and children, forsaking their homes, bidding farewell to all the endearments of society, and setting out on a journey over two thousand miles, upon a route where they have to make their own roads, construct their own bridges, hew out their own boats, and kill their own meat; where twenty miles is an average day's travel, exposed to every variety of weather, and the naked earth their only resting-place! In sickness they have no physician; in death there is no one to perform the last sad offices. Their bodies are buried by the way side, to be exhumed and defiled by the Indians, or devoured by the wolves. But yet there are dauntless spirits who will brave all this, and Government ought to encourage them.

He knew there were those who say that these emigrants go to Oregon in view of all these consequences, and they need not go unless at their own option. There is no compulsory process served upon them. True, sir; and there is no obligation on the part of our merchants to send their goods to sea. They know the dangers of the coast, and the dangers of the ocean; but yet, sir, we are continually constructing, boys, beacons, light-houses and harbors, for their protection. True, sir, and there is no compulsory process to force the sailor on a voyage to sea. He knows there are pirates, and runs his own risk; but yet we have our ships of war in every direction for his benefit.

There is an extent of country beyond the Rocky mountains 550 miles long and 550 miles wide, covering 300,000 square miles, or 300,000,000 of acres. Persons from personal observation report that for picturesque beauty, exuberant fertility, and salubrity of climate, no region of earth of equal extent surpasses the vales and table lands of Oregon. There the cattle graze all winter; and it must eventually be a very important country for its trade in hides, beef, tallow, &c. Pine and fir trees on the Columbia grow to the enormous size of forty to fifty feet in circumference, twenty miles beyond the mountains, and fifty feet in height—it being sometimes one hundred and fifty feet to the branches. Although rather bad for corn, (not worse, however, than many parts of New Hampshire and Vermont,) yet it is well calculated for wheat, barley, oats, peas, apples, potatoes, and all roots cultivated in the United States. So much for its intrinsic value. Of its commercial importance he had already spoken. There is danger of our losing this country. We have only a nominal possession now; but yet there are American citizens willing to go; but, go, too, with a determination to own no allegiance but that of this country. Shall we secure them American rights when treading American soil? Shall we deny them our laws—our flag? Our action on this bill will say.

There are those who, on all questions of policy in relation to the Indian States or Territories, are actuated by the narrow contracted notion that whatever benefits them tends so much to depopulate the old States. Is this so? Has either the emigration of our fathers, or the emigration of the present day, injured in the least either France, Germany, England, Scotland or Ireland? It has yet to appear. You may turn the tide of emigration, but you cannot stop it. If the adventurous frontiersmen cannot go to Oregon, he will go somewhere else; he will not be contented; he will not allow his game to be frightened by the click of his neighbor's rifle, nor the bark of his dog. He had a friend who lived in Ohio, as long ago as it was on the extreme frontier. He had been moving and moving away from the irroquois of society until he had reached the banks of the Mississippi, and he was then about to move again. He asked him his reason. He said it was the dying advice of his father—"to keep twenty miles beyond your lane and your corn," and a doctor and a lawyer were within fifteen miles, and he thought it time to go." Another of these adventurers, no gentleman could live in a community after his wife could not invite every person within five miles for fear her log cabin would not contain them. There is a class of men who will be continually on the outskirts of civilized society. It is in vain for us to seek the reason. As well may we ask why the wild man hatched on land away from his species will reach its element or die. We may as well call it instinct, and let it go. Aside from the eccentric characters alluded to, the young men from the old States are continually seeking out new fields for the development of their talents. Their industry and enterprise make them explore every part of the world. In many parts it is considered disgraceful for a young man to settle under the nose of his parents, as showing a lack of manly perseverance; he will reach it himself, or die. We may as well call it instinct, and let it go. Aside from the eccentric characters alluded to, the young men from the old States are continually seeking out new fields for the development of their talents. Their industry and enterprise make them explore every part of the world. In many parts it is considered disgraceful for a young man to settle under the nose of his parents, as showing a lack of manly perseverance; he will reach it himself, or die. We may as well call it instinct, and let it go. Aside from the eccentric characters alluded to, the young men from the old States are continually seeking out new fields for the development of their talents. Their industry and enterprise make them explore every part of the world. 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